/348 cont./

287 439 [484] [435] half-breed villages. For the meager profits which this trade brings them they undertake long trips and even go as far as Sucre, where they are paid two to three pesos for each feather duster.

224 178 231 433 Hunting lost its importance from the day when the Chiriguano began to have cattle. Already about 20 years ago, those who /Plate XII appears here/ /349/ had several sheep, goats, cows, or even chickens did not take the trouble to accompany their comrades into the bush in search of game. What is the use of tiring oneself out running after peccaries for long days and risking getting oneself disemboweled or coming back empty-handed if just by staying home one can treat one's guests with some roast of meat or chicken broth?

231 435 [464] [465] The price of cattle has gone down a good deal these last years, and the Indians no longer need to go to the sugar mills of Argentina in order to come back with a cow or two in recompense for four to five months of hard work. Goats, sheep, and pigs are valued at two to four pesos apiece and it is often even a question of "prices for foreigners." A cow currently costs from 25 to 30 pesos, and an economical Indian has the means to acquire several during his life. Little by little, in each village modest herds have been formed, which the Indians care for like treasures. They husband them carefully, like all primitive peoples who raise cattle. They almost never kill their cow, and they sacrifice only rarely a goat or a sheep to their gluttony (1). In showing themselves to be so economical

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[262] [178] 1. In former times they used to feel an unconquerable repugnance toward pork, which is dissipating nowadays (Nino, p. 252).

556 they are not obeying any superstition but simply are afraid to diminish their capital. The wealth of an Indian is gauged by the number of his cows; and, in their Spanish jargon, "vacudo" /vaca, "cow"/ is a synonym for rich (2). Some of them have a

2. An Indian of Ñawirenda had as many as 40 head of cattle.

[Text continues on p. 93]

/79 cont./

178 464 [197] [162] Chaco and O'Connor Province, 5,000, in the Tarija missions there are 4,500, and in those of Potosí, 3,905, which makes a total of 26,405, including men and women, big and small, old and young. But of this number there are scarcely 8,000 day laborers, or strong men fit for any work, and what is the extent of land in Chiriguano hands through their own will or that of others? Some 140 leagues from [131] [465] north to south, more than 40 from east to west; if today the cultivation of these lands is difficult, tomorrow it will be impossible; if today it is hard to pay 40 centavos to the day laborer, tomorrow they will not be found for 80 centavos.

648 [167] There is a great struggle under way between the Chiriguano and the white; the latter struggles to increase his fortune and hacienda at any cost and tries to dominate and does dominate the Chiriguano, as one who is nobler and more powerful; the former struggles for his existence as long as he can, but, because he is weak and inferior, yields to the power of the white; when his spirit has been broken by the superior force which dominates him like a slave, he disappears and imperceptibly emigrates to a place where he is treated with more apparent humanity, though not certain and real, but which the Indian does not recognize (1).

[464] 1. According to references, the day laborer in Argentina earns 25 or 30 nacionales per month, without food, which in a foreign land is expensive for the Chiriguano; nevertheless, since the clothing and the animals which the company sells are not expensive, the day laborers who are economical and not given to drink come back well clothed, bringing a horse or an ass or clothing for his children and wife.

178 197 361 From this /80/ it follows that the large towns of former times and the very missions which antedate South American independence have in some cases disappeared entirely and others are on the point of disappearing.

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/300 cont./

648 Bolivia, where they were sold as laborers. Under the guard of
466 armed men, they were brought down the Rio Mamoré by way of Quatro-Ojos.

I shall have a better opportunity, however, to discuss the relations of the Indians to the rubber industry in the book in which I shall report on the studies which I made in the rubber regions themselves and among the Indians located near them (1).

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1. Appeared in Swedish under the title Indianer och hvita i nordöstra Bolivia, Stockholm, 1911.

I shall therefore not go into this question in greater detail here.

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Compulsory Service for the Whites

The Chiriguano and Chané who work as servants in their own country for the immigrant white race are extraordinarily poorly paid. This is especially true in the remote regions where the higher prices for labor in the Argentine sugar factories, as the result of competition, have not been able to react on wages. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti, for example, are seldom paid more than 20 centavos (not quite 35 pfennigs) per day with board. The women earn about half as much. The Indians are paid their wages partly in spirits and sugar, partly in cloth and tools. The cloth is so poor that a shirt made from such material does not last much longer than the time required to earn it. As a result of this system, the Chané and Chiriguano, like their fellow-tribesmen in the rubber regions in northeastern Bolivia, sink into debt slavery.

/301/ It is to be hoped that the large projects initiated by the engineer Herrmann in San Franzisko on the Rio Pilcomayo will improve the Indian wage situation generally. If he will pay better than others, all the Indians will come to him, and the other employers will have to increase their wages.

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[466] Thus, the Chiriguano and Chané are on the direct road to being drawn into the anything but fortunate struggle between employer and employee.

The Bolivian government should see to it that the fields of the Indians are entered in the land register, so that whites cannot take possession of them. The government should also make it a condition that no Indian may sell his land. In this

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Fig. 133. Clay vessel. - 1/9.
Chiriguano. Caipipendi.

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648 way the government would guarantee the Indians the right of occupation of the land, but not the right of ownership.

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/302/ The uncertainty and the oppressive wage conditions
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466 under which these Indians live naturally lead to emigration to
465 Argentina and, above all, to the circumstance that many
167 Indians abandon the land, not only as seasonal workers, but for-
925 ever.

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If the Bolivian government wishes to do something for the
648 Indians, it must first of all try to find a remedy for the worst
273 evil, namely, alcoholism. There is a tremendous difference
177 between drinking maize beer and liquor.